/384 cont./

huts present a picture of utter confusion. They own but few objects, and these they are always dragging about with them. They have no idea of how to take care of them. Often these insignificant possessions are left out in the rain and snow, lie in dirt and mud, are lost by the dogs, or damaged by fire and smoke. Inside the hut small baskets and pieces of skin, tools and implements, weapons and ornamental objects are shoved about hither and yon; there is no thought of handling them gently or taking care of them. /385/ True, the single small hut serves many purposes. Not only the members of the family, but the dogs and all the possessions are housed in the same crowded space. Under such conditions how can order and cleanliness thrive and be maintained!

Small children are almost never absent, and in their lack of judgment they cause a lot of confusion and take care of their natural requirements inside the hut. Dogs rummage around the sleeping places and among the things that have been carelessly tossed about. Everyone usually eats squatting beside the fire. Many of the scraps are immediately tossed into the fire, but not everything can be cleared away. Here and there are bits of meat and fat, crushed, raw mussels and crabs, remnants of sea birds and fish.

The considerable amount of blubber clinging to these things is transferred to the people themselves, who after their meals wipe their dripping hands either on the sides of their own bodies or on the sleeping place. There is a persistent heavy smell of blubber throughout the interior of the hut, on all the objects and people, to which a European rarely grows accustomed. The moisture which penetrates everything quickly rots the vegetable matter used in the sleeping place, as well as the pieces of leather and skins which sometimes still need to be dressed. All this is mixed with the odor of the skin secretions of people and dogs. There is a disagreeable mixture of all kinds of fumes constantly rising in the small space. It increases from day to day, the longer the hut is used, and it is not affected by the ease with which fresh air blows through the loose structure. One cannot say that a really foul odor develops, but stuffy, musty, heavy fumes fill the whole interior (39). On a sunny day the Indians sometimes loosen the hut

39. Only with reservations can we accept Hyades's (f) :587 statement of his experience

/428 cont./

515 and down over their nostrils; afterwards they draw their hand through grass or moss. No one is offended by belching and
516 breaking wind, the smacking of lips during eating, and gurgling /427/ in drinking. Younger people, however, may not make flatulent noises in the presence of old people without noticeably offending them.

356 In the canoe, in contrast to a campsite on the beach, dirt and filth cannot accumulate, although the family uses it almost daily for their travels. Some water comes into the canoe on all sides, and it is open to rain and snow; hence the whole interior is often rinsed out. True, small remnants of leather and the remains of animals obtained by hunting, food scraps, and shells lie about and produce a noticeable stench, but the salt water prevents fouler decomposition. It never occurs to the Indian to clean his canoe thoroughly, but the forces of nature are more than willing to do it. During the trip, everyone takes care of
517 his natural needs overboard if he cannot wait until the landing.
• 264 For good reasons the people in the canoe seldom eat and then only a little. They throw refuse into the fire, which is always kept going, or simply overboard.

3. Body Painting

302 We shall speak here only of those efforts of the Yamana which arise from their desire to adorn and beautify themselves. Their interest in rubbing their bodies with fish oil or a suitable kind of earth (p. 66) to protect themselves against the cold or against dirt serves another purpose. The most frequent and principal method of adornment is to paint the face and the whole body. Compared with this, objects for ornamentation are quite secondary (165). Moreover, all painting, whether it is

> 165. Lothrop (b):125 confirms this: "The chief form of decoration seems to have been facial and body painting, which was freely employed in the old days" /cited in English/.

that of their own bodies or of an object, has a special meaning and a recognizable purpose.

/S85 cont./

262 mollusks are the one somewhat constant article in the native diet" /translated from French/.

252 The preparation of the double-shelled mussels is a simultaneous steaming and boiling. When the Indian woman tears the mussel loose under water, it shuts its two valves tight. It does the same when it is exposed by low tide. It retains a few drops of sea water inside so that its breathing organs do not dry up. When it is placed in the heat of the fire, these drops are heated inside and finally turn to steam. By the time the force of the steam tears open the locked shells, the meat is tender. Thanks to the slight amount of salt in which it is steeped, it is really very tasty. Snails and crabs, as well as other lower animals, such as chitons, ~~yékar~~ ł, are steamed in hot ashes, hence they are drier and nowhere near as tasty as ~~t'ouf~~ and ~~k'ôle~~.

This concludes the list of foods which the Fuegian prepares in a special way. Almost all of them originate in the sea or on the shore. Bove (d):291 thus maintains, very correctly: "The sea furnishes the principal foods of the Fuegians. Fish, limpets, crabs, seals, aquatic birds, in short whatever the sea produces forms part of their diet" /translated from Italian/. In the vegetable kingdom it is only fungi of the Cyttari species which are not often specially prepared, but are dried by being skewered on small sticks, strung up to form a chain, and put near the fire. Fungi gathered in winter and completely frozen are laid near the fire to thaw. Celery roots (Apium australe) are roasted in hot ashes. Only a few things are eaten raw (p. 304).

4. How They Eat

•264 The entire conduct of the Fuegians at meals is repulsive to a European. To condemn them for this would be unjust because they are completely deprived of many comforts which are taken for granted by us in our ordered circumstances. Nevertheless, they, too, are guided by certain rules in eating. Sometimes they show extraordinary self-control. Finally, they do not by any means take anything and everything indiscriminately, just to satisfy their voracious appetite or to fill their stomachs.

/588 cont./

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assured us: "Their common way of cooking is to put everything into the ashes until sufficiently done for their taste, or until their hunger could allow them to wait no longer" /cited in English/. All later observers, for example, Hyades (p).328, vouch for this general rule.

262 Although the Fuegian literally lives from hand to mouth and sometimes finds himself in dire distress, he still shows an astonishing amount of self-control in eating, and this is sometimes forced on him by certain rules. We refer to his duty to cut up the booty he has brought home and let the neighbors share it (p. 314). Moreover, not every individual has free access to a stranded whale, but is content with the pieces that are given him by the chosen distributors (p. 308). Finally there are a few definite food taboos on certain occasions, which everyone observes. A law given by Yoálup says that berries -- actually, only those of Pernettya mucronata -- may not be gathered promiscuously, and that they must be left on the bushes until old men declare that they are ripe. If some people should discover favorable spots where there are many berries, they warn their friends and neighbors: "There are many anákpa there, but wait until they are ripe!" If, nevertheless, some women and children should look for that place and pick the berries, subsequent visitors will find the bushes empty and will say: "anákpa apéte, the berries have gone away!" This means that the berries removed themselves in revenge and expiation for that forbidden act. Since the culprits are not known, but the bushes are actually stripped of fruit, the entire occurrence is given a superstitious interpretation. /589/ This is supposed to prevent the berries from being picked before they are ripe. At certain times determined by ancient canons, only a little food or only certain things are permitted, as, for instance, during the initiation, during the first menstrual period, after confinement, and so forth. In general everyone adheres to this conscientiously.

262 252 [illegible]

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Only occasionally is a person carried away to real immoderation in eating. Anyone who eats hastily and greedily is called Mánje which is anything but respectable. Everyone is supposed to control himself sufficiently in eating so that others always

249 576

/389 cont./

regard him as moderate and slow. Modest and contented reserve is very much praised (366). When several people are together,

366. Earlier Dumpard (b):680 mentioned that the Yamana "hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'smalleater' " /cited in English/.

they watch each other, the one who acts as though he would rather not eat a thing makes the best impression. Within the narrower family circle people are emphatically warned of mistakes of this nature in the presence of a stranded whale, for now there is great danger that someone will let himself go too far, given this favorable opportunity. In all this there is probably also an unconscious warning against damaging one's own health. It has been proved that the human stomach does not tolerate the great amounts of fat that are suddenly offered it. It is necessary to become somewhat accustomed to it (367). There is another

367. Bridges (MS:IX, 13,1875), on April 21, 1876, observed the ravenous appetite of several families: "The natives have suffered much temporary pain from eating the whale, and I hear that this is usual at first, but pass off with the continued use of whale-meat" /cited in English/. Thus a certain habituation is necessary for a normal digestion when large amounts of fat are eaten.

danger. Whale fat is considered tastier the longer the animal has lain dead in the water. It then melts by itself and is known as *ajaqiliy* in this state. Not infrequently there is serious poisoning when such putrified fat and meat are eaten, as missionaries have repeatedly reported.

For example, we have the following description by Lawrence, dated March 25, 1887 (MS:XI, 173;1887): "A canoe brought

262 /590 cont./
164 they are capable in other circumstances.

Every traveler has frequent and ready opportunity to observe
• 264 their conduct while eating. It is anything but beautiful. Usually
252 the individual squats beside the fire and waits until the piece of meat in the embers or ashes is done. He takes it out with a little stick, lets it cool a bit on stones or bits of brush lying about, and picks it up with /591/ both fists. Sometimes the piece is still so hot that he cannot hold it. Even so, he tears off large bites with his strong teeth and swallows them without ostensibly chewing. From a large roast the pieces are torn off more than bitten off and swallowed in sizable chunks. Strangely enough, the Yamana chews very little. This applies also to the sometimes tough meat of birds. He quickly swallows hot morsels that he cannot keep in his mouth and following them sometimes takes a swallow of water or a small lump of snow (372). Since they

372. The Selk'nam have the same habit (Vol. I, 297).

quickly put the too hot morsel into their mouths, they constantly make a sucking sound while they move it around in their mouths.

When the mussels that were shoved onto the embers are done, they burst open by themselves. They are fished out with a little stick and allowed to cool a bit on the ground. Then in one hand the Indian takes the shell to which the meat adheres, holds it horizontally, breaks off the empty shell with his other hand, and with his fingers tears out the meat which he immediately pops into his mouth. Finally he holds the flat mussel shell itself to his lips, since the drops accumulated in it are very tasty, and sucks them in noisily. Snail shells are broken into pieces with a handy stone to expose the roasted contents, and the same is done with the calcareous covering of the tasty sea acorn, lépa (Balanus psittacus).

Blubber sausages and the less common blood sausages are opened at one end, held up to the mouth, and the contents fall in. They place baked fish on the trampled earth and separate them with their fingers, the thumb nails used chiefly. The large crabs, axíya (Lithodes antarctica), as well as mekálus (Paralomis

/591 cont./
verrucosus), which are put in hot ashes, steam and cook until they are tender, since the slight amount of water in the shell turns into steam. Then the individual members are broken off, and the meat is removed with a small stick or is sucked out of the shell.

The meat of roasted birds is generally tough. It is grasped with both hands so that individual pieces can be torn off. In eating, the Yamana works only with his hands and fingers; he is not familiar with knives, forks, or spoons. Large drops of blubber and fat often fall off, some of which he catches with his mouth, the rest he licks off with his tongue. He wipes his fat-drenched hands first on his thighs, then on skins or the inside wall of his hut. After what has been said, it is not surprising that his whole body, especially his face, glistens with fat.

Fat from the whale and sea lion is sometimes melted in a shallow mussel shell of *ʃ̌ɛuf* (Mytilus) or *ʃ̌ɛʃ̌ɛina* (Venus or Macrus) placed in hot ashes (373). Blubber drippings are also

373. We read in La Nature 312 that a large mussel shell serves "as plate, as the dish in which fish oil is melted to serve as seasoning" /translated from French/.

caught in it, /592/ as well as in the shell of the Voluta snail or on a shoulder blade of a seal. It is immediately drunk or collected in a piece of gut. It is not customary, however, to heat up liquid blubber deliberately. We cannot emphasize too often that the Yamana eat liquid blubber, but, several times a day, but always in small amounts, say, a mouthful (374).

374. Even Spencer 102 noticed that "they drink this, like Scott's Emulsion" /cited in English/.

The meal proceeds very noisily with the common inhaling and smacking of lips. Remnants of food are immediately burned in the nearby fire or thrown to the dogs which lope about obtrusively and are boldly persistent. While the Indian eats, he is very silent and devotes all his attention to what he is doing.

/580 cont./

•264 Thus he gives the effect of being voracious. He almost never eats while he is walking, except for a few berries or fungi just picked and immediately eaten. He always squats on the ground near a fire while eating.

The daily work of the Fuegian depends on the changing weather, that is to say, there is no particular hour for a single one of his occupations, nor are there definite mealtimes. In the usual order of the day everyone eats well in the morning and in the late afternoon, in other words, before they set out and soon after they land their canoe (375). This does not mean, however, that occasionally

375. In this sense the words of Hyades (p. 328 are correct: "There are two principal meals, one in the morning several hours after getting up and the other in the evening before going to sleep" /translated from French/.

someone does not also eat his fill at some other hour, whether he sits in his hut or in his canoe; everyone eats when he feels like it. The Fuegians eat often during the day and sometimes even at night (376). Apparently everything they eat is nourishing and

376. Fitz-Roy (a):181 confirms that "two or three times in the course of a night they wake to eat and drink. In the day-time also they eat and drink very frequently" /cited in English/.

advantageous, but we cannot deny that with a meat diet exclusively the body demands larger quantities than with a diet that includes plenty of carbohydrates. We must also consider the fact that the damp, cold climate takes a great deal out of the system, because they are only scantily dressed and often are soaking wet. That is why they frequently desire to eat during the day (377) and

377. In Le Nature:311 we read: "The Fuegians must take [food] in large quantities, and even after a very large meal they are still hungry" /translated from French/.

/SEE cont./

•264 by no means only a few coffee. It is almost always a considerable amount, so that the meal during a single day is exceedingly large. Every observer will agree with the words of Spegazzini (p) 171: "These people have no set time for eating; they eat all day, they eat whenever and wherever they please, and according to what I saw, they eat a great deal" /translated from Spanish/. As we have said, at any one time they take liquid bubbles, but, in only small quantities, but all the more frequently. /SEE/ a man or woman will sometimes empty a bubbler sausage ten centimeters long in one draught (370). Visitors like to bring it along as a present.

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370. Hyades (f) 364 mentions: "They are likewise fond of the oil of the liver of sperm, but always small quantities at a time" /translated from French/.

With the exception of mornings and evenings, everyone begins to eat whenever he feels like it. This is the general custom. One is more likely to be stimulated if he sees someone else chewing and he will join him. There is never much preparation involved. A person will reach into a basket of morsels or will tear off a piece of meat from a cow lion or a bird hanging on a beech tree in front of the hut and place it on the fire. Everyone helps himself, and whatever supplies are in the hut are at everyone's disposal (370).

370. The words of Hyades (p) 328 that "women and children eat with the men" /translated from French/ do not mean anything.

Everyone acts as though it were completely taken for granted and not a disturbance to his neighbor if he moves near the fire at night and satisfies his appetite undisturbed. The only rule generally observed is that in the morning before the first bite is taken one rinses out his mouth with cold water and spits it out again. Some people are more particular about this than about daily morning ablutions. While the individual pieces are roasting in the fire, everyone watches them attentively, turns them often and meanwhile increases his appetite. He turns them with his fingers or

[315]

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240 • peice into them with a little knife, occasionally dusting the glowing embers or piling the hot ashes higher. He gets particular pleasure out of entertaining himself in this way, until he can give himself up completely to enjoying them. When the pieces are done and have proved to be very delicious, he clicks his tongue with delight and lets everybody around him know in what gluttonous ecstasy he is foaming. During the trip in the canoe every occupant must cautiously move up to the small fire, and one moves away when another person wants to roast something for himself. The woman, whose duty it is to do the rowing, must regularly go without food for hours, but she makes up for it later on the beach. If circumstances make it impossible -- usually it is bad weather -- everyone can get along all right without 241 food for considerable time. On the other hand, if one finds him- [97] self with a great abundance, he can consume almost incalculable amounts. A person can gain weight quickly, but he can just as quickly grow thin again; one can see these changes in children over a period of a few days. Their health apparently does not suffer, however (384).

384. Lothrop (p.)303 has expressed some conjectures about the relation between diet and physical size in Tierra del Fuego, but he cites only inadequate observations which are not sustained by actual facts.

242 In conclusion, it becomes clear from certain customs that [51] the Fuegians is guided by definite rules in eating. For example, he does not bother with very dirty meat, but throws it away without further ado. Something that has been nibbled at by a dog he angrily lets him have. /104/ He removes decaying pieces of meat as far as possible from his hut, whereas he does not seem to have any feeling about nothing fat or moldy skins. His sense of smell is unquestionably very much dulled, and he never holds a doubtful piece up to his nose. Anything that has become putrid has to give off a vile odor before he will remove it. He is certainly not clean in eating and in his ways. Nevertheless, one person will prove to be more of a greedy gourmet, the other less. He knows the various pieces and the juicier morsels and chooses

/5194 cont./

254 157 these if possible. The tender meat of young animals tickles his palate, and the height of ecstacy for him is the nicely browned fat of a whale that has been stranded for some time. There are many things that conclusively prove that a Fuegian's taste is by no means insensible or dulled, no matter how uniform the taste of everything that he eats on account of so much blubber.

5. How They Store Food

257 261 The unsettled way of life and their uninterrupted changes of dwelling do not permit the Yamana to lay in large supplies. The general statement of Hyades (d):306 "They do not make any provision for the future" /translated from French/, applies without qualification, since they do not strive to provide for the immediate or the distant future. A decisive factor may be that food does not keep in that arbitrarily inclement weather, and in order to preserve it, one would have to go through all kinds of complicated preparations. All this is superfluous, because throughout the entire year and with almost limitless generosity the sea puts all kinds of animals at the disposal of the men who hunt and the women who gather. Storm or accident will deprive a family of these things for no more than a few days. Generally no one need reckon with the danger of hunger, and everyone almost anywhere finds an abundance of what he needs (381).

> 381. Bridges' (b):206 brief statement says a great deal: "In general, food is abundant" /translated from Spanish/.

Why, then, should anyone worry about food for the future (382)!

> 382. Hyades (g):36 writes: "The most wonderful thing about the Fuegians is that they never think of providing for the next day. And yet winter is severe enough and there are by no means few periods when the Fuegian can neither hunt nor fish nor even pick up mussels on the rocks

/585 cont./

doorkeeper (56), so to speak, for here she also arranges her

56. Martial.1:98 called her "the door-warmer" /translated from French/. Bridges (1):35 wrote in exaggerated detail: "Each grown person had his or her place in the wigwam and the several wives of a man had each her appointed place as respected the seat of her husband, from which she derived her title. Thus the first, or rather principle /sic/ wife, for sometimes the first in respect of time became second or third in respect of rank, was spoken of as Wappatin, i.e., the one on the doorside, because her place was invariably on that side of her husband. The second was called Uhtaiget, because she sat next her husband on the inner side, and third Cutchiellalvo, i.e., next beyond on the inner side of. Thus each knew her place when they went into any fresh dwelling, but usually a man had not more than one or two wives at a time" /cited in English/.

sleeping place did the husband has his place beside her. Next to him, on the inner side of the hut, the second wife takes her place, hence she is called ukkuppeshi, who is, according to BD.114, "the second wife, when there are two, because her place was on the upper or inner side of her husband in the wigwam" /cited in English/. Moreover, the first wife is entitled to give the other one certain tasks and other orders. The latter submits, more because she is younger than in acknowledgment of a special greater power of her superior. It never occurs to the first wife to misuse her power, much less to leave her rival in want or to harm her. Just as in general the first wife distributes to the neighboring huts the meat that her husband brings home, so she lets the second wife have a special piece (57). She is particularly attentive,

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57. Hence she is not dependent on the whims of the first wife at every meal, as Martial.1:98

/Bill cont./

maintain. According to the common custom, everyone in a hut may eat what is there and whenever he pleases (p. 336).

from a feeling of common humanity, while the other is nursing an infant. Both of them freely take part in the daily activities. A great deal is automatically regulated by the fact that the younger woman must take care of her small children. In most polygynous marriages the first wife is unable to work or is weak, but in any case the second wife /(?)/ has more or less all the work in the hut or the canoe. If, as often happens, they are sisters, the daily work runs harmoniously and smoothly.

In some cases, however, the relationship between two wives can be very much disturbed by envy and jealousy, if the two are not related, if the man shows more love and affection for the younger of the two, if he obviously treats her with more friendliness and tenderness. The first wife, who now is clearly aware of her lawful pre-eminence, controls her silent envy for a long time. Later, in regular scenes of jealousy, she virtously reproaches her husband. Finally, if all her efforts to win his love are in vain, she definitely leaves him. Such conditions are the exception in polygynous marriages and probably occur only when the husband wants to get rid of his first wife. The two rivals almost always live together harmoniously, particularly if the older one is dependent on the younger because of physical ailments and even more often if both are sisters. Then neither one is jealous of the demonstrations of affection which the other receives from their common husband, no matter how interestingly the lovemisses is displayed. The first wife never relinquishes her own rights (58).

58. The meaning of kíhuaia which SD:188 gives, "to cause the first wife to take the place in the wigwam of the second or third" /cited in English/, has no legal significance.

Here is an example of how carefully two Europeans who visited one Yaghan simultaneously reported on one and the same arrangement. According to Spegazzini (x):106, "the peace of

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point on the outside in order to keep a blackout. Truly, the hut framework withstands a great deal. Individual gaps that appear and let rain or snow in are immediately closed.

Construction of the Cookhut

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In their everyday life the Tamanos have no fixed times for meals. They help themselves when they are hungry or when something is offered. During the youth initiation even the adults have their eating considerably curtailed because food may not be prepared in the Great Hut. The food is prepared outside for all the participants together and is brought in ready to eat. Everyone gets plenty and is, of course, satisfied with everything that is offered. Even with these common meals, the adults are free to go back to their own hut for brief hours and to eat there what they have on hand. Many of them make use of this freedom more or less often.

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For the place in which food is to be prepared for the sometimes large number of [illegible] participants, the Tamanos choose a small hut which is specially erected about 20 to 30 paces from the Great Hut. In every respect it resembles the ordinary dwelling of that region, dome-shaped in the west and cone-shaped in the east. They do not use the ornamental plaques mentioned above or any other decoration in it. In the center of the hut a huge fire burns, where the pieces of meat and the slabs of fat are roasted. The hut also serve to bake the fish and steam the manioc. This hut is large enough so that the Indian women working in it can also sleep there. Thus, even in size it resembles an ordinary dwelling. Usually this cookhut is built immediately after the Great Hut is finished, sometimes even while it is being built, for with the start of the ceremony, the work of the women engaged in cooking also begins (301).

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301. In the same way the Hakakwshap also erect a cookhut beside the Great Hut for their initiation rite, in which food for all the participants is prepared. See Gumilla (p)-341.

/837 cont./

At work here are three to five women who have declared themselves willing to undertake the busy position of a so-called cook. They voluntarily put themselves at the leader's disposal. Although their work is not hard, it demands many sacrifices of them, the most difficult being to relinquish uninterrupted participation in the events in the Great Hut. /838/ These women spend most of their time in their kitchen quarters and meanwhile forgo the entertaining fellowship with the others. Formerly they prepared mussels, crabs, meat, and blubber; today they cook a thick soup of legumes, with mutton if they have it, in a bucket or large metal tub. When these Indians promised to let me take part in my first and second initiations (p. 652, 658), they requested European food and all kinds of extras. The Yamana do not have a special name for the cooks; they are simply makaliku hipa, that is, "capable, handy women." The cookhut is simply hipa ándeĺ, "hut for the women." In March, 1922, the chief women in the hut were the wife of Pedro and the wife of Calderon, and they were assisted by the two sisters, Gertie and Adelheid. Actually, throughout the whole ceremony, they missed the proceedings in the Great Hut for several hours each day.

If there should be no volunteers for this kitchen duty, the leader must specifically appoint several persons. He also reminds them of the three meals, which, according to ancient custom, occur in the early morning, at noon, and at twilight. The women are already well aware of this. In modern times these hours are kept automatically since the Indians have become accustomed to them by their routine on the farms. During the initiation, however, they are not too exact; when the women have the food ready, they bring it to the Great Hut where every other activity is immediately cut short. When the cooks have finished their day's work, they take their places in the Great Hut and, along with the rest of the adults, take part in the performances, preferring especially the dances and games in the evening.

Y. Guard Duty

Just as inconspicuously as the leader divides the work of building the Great Hut among certain men and the kitchen

X881 /848 cont./
533 It is stronger and more universal during the evening dancing, very faint and soft during the forenoon hours.

With all the simplicity of the melody, there are nevertheless slight variations, which, one beside the other, produce some diversity. Many a person is pleased when he hears a certain variant from the mouth of another, which sometimes arouses precious memories within him. The čiéxaus truly keeps alive ancient melodies. Since most of them are sung only at the youth initiation, their sound awakens the spiritual mood which alone enables one to enjoy this solemn gathering profitably. The uninterrupted singing is also supposed to show that there is vigilance in the Great Hut and that nothing harmful can approach unnoticed.

X881 When darkness falls, the čiéxaus hut shelters all the adults who are regular participants. All the more immediate preparations, including the division of labor, were inconspicuously attended to, very gradually the beginning of the celebration was introduced, and the ceremony now runs its course quietly each day without any particular division of time.

2. Reception of the Candidates

X881 The weak superficiality of our Indians of today has unfortu-
177 nately also interrupted the good custom of abstaining from all food
264 on the first evening of the assembly in the Great Hut. After the general singing has lasted about two hours, the kitchen women appear and place a tall metal container of thick soup in front of the leader, who, ladling it out with a large spoon, fills the plates while the women pass them around to all present. The meal is soon over, and the dishes are gathered up by the women who /849/ without delay disappear with them. Everyone carefully gathers the food remains and burns them; afterwards the central passage is cleaned and swept (267).

267. At the present time the Yamana keep to the routine that they have taken over from the Europeans, even in the Great Hut, but as of old they are very strict about burning all the remains

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of food. These minor cleaning chores are considerably easier in modern times since the prepared food is usually handed to the people present on tin plates. Their original way of eating caused much more refuse.

α. Capture in the Camp

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Meanwhile the singing has been resumed by most of the people. With unobtrusive signs the leader gives a definite message to the winefkéʂa, and he inconspicuously notifies his helpers. They get ready to capture the first candidate. The older participants have previously named the young people who are to be made uśwʂala on this occasion (p. 669). Without disturbing the singing, in which usually the helpers, too, softly take part, the latter paint themselves (p. 685). Then they get up, form a row with one not very far behind the other, and grasp the leather strap, ʂikeʂa, which hangs, unrolled, lengthwise on the interior framework (p. 686).

With a long drawn-out ho ho ho, uttered in a threatening tone, the winefkéʂa is the first to dash out of the Great Hut, followed by his helpers. Quickly they turn toward the dwelling from which they wish to fetch the uśwʂala. The latter is frightened at the sight of the feared men. In his terror he crawls under the covers of his sleeping-place, but that does not help him; the men seize him and hold him tight, pull the lasso over his head, and bind him. Now he must follow them to the Great Hut. Resistance and stubbornness would be of no avail, so he follows the men and gives himself up to the fate that awaits him.

Many a boy and girl who previously have not been threatened by adults give themselves up willingly and without resistance to their relative, who leads them to the Great Hut. They, therefore, need not be dragged to it forcibly by the guard's assistants. At the entrance they are received in the manner reserved for all uśwʂala without exception and, of course, for a definite purpose.

The appearance of the guards in the camp and the terrified screaming of their victim spread dismay in all the huts where there

/911 cont./
881 the younger people wash with soap in the morning (334), usually
[515 177]

334. They have adopted this habit from Europeans, and they cling to it even in the Great Hut.

in front of the Great Hut. A few women busy themselves with the long fire and make bright flames leap up, while the men join in the continuous singing and give themselves up to their thoughts. [513] The night's sleep lasts only six to seven hours.

881 3. Meals. Formerly during the ciexaus celebration the adults 264 were also obliged to observe some restrictions in eating, as they personally saw fit. To this day the Yamana uphold at least the rule that all food must be prepared exclusively in the secondary hut. In former times the kitchen women brought a meal from there to the people gathered in the Great Hut only twice a day, namely, a bite a few hours after arising and abundant portions toward four o'clock in the afternoon. The sponsors arranged it so that their protégés were usually not led outside before the first meal and that they were again present during the second. In case an adult missed the meals, he was permitted to go to the cookhut and receive something to eat there. It was not customary for extra food to be distributed in the Great Hut for latecomers after these two periods.

881 In general the Yamana eat rapidly and even more so during 264 the čiexaus celebration. Food is brought in from the cookhut as 869 secretly as possible. Since the preparation of the food cannot be hidden, the adults and, above all, the children outside in the camp who do not take part in the celebration are led to believe that it is devoured by Yetášta or by other spirits (p. 761), but not by the inmates (335). In order to carry out this deception, at a

335. At the end of the celebration the candidates actually do appear very weary and weak when they come back to the actual camp and they are quite generally pitied (p. 829).

certain time before the meal a few men and women inside the

/911 cont./

Great Hut shout: "We have been very hungry for a long time, the spirits take all the food for themselves and quickly eat it up!"

In order to convince outsiders of the supposed hunger of the inmates, individual persons will go out and crowd around the secondary entrance without leaving. At the same time they act as though they could not wait until the kitchen women arrive and as though they wanted to make sure of getting a goodly quantity before the food is brought into the hut and the spirits pounce upon it. Finally the kitchen women approach. The vessel in which the food is brought was formerly a leather pouch, a little basket, or a bucket made of bark; today it is a bowl /912/ painted red and white. At the entrance the persons who were waiting outside crowd around them, apparently from hunger, but the kitchen women squeeze through, and as they step into the Great Hut they call out the hóhohohoh in a moderately strong and high-pitched voice. All the inmates respond loudly and enthusiastically. The uíwfala have had their heads covered in plenty of time, and now one of the men roars and pounds against the earth to impersonate Yetéjta. At the secondary entrance where the kitchen women enter, the vessel is hastily drawn in, as though the evil spirit has been avidly waiting for it. Several women are standing ready here, and they immediately pour the food into another vessel and quickly toss the empty, painted bowl outside with a great racket. They do this very conspicuously for it is supposed to announce to the people standing outside that Yetéjta himself, with inimitable haste and greed, is devouring the whole meal. To the outsiders the inference is supposed to be that within the few minutes from the time the kitchen women enter until the bowl is tossed out the abundant amount of food could neither be distributed to the people present nor consumed by them and the vessel emptied. Almost at the same time a few men within loudly call out: "The kéepif [spirits] alone have eaten all the food. Again there is nothing left for us!"

While the adults in the Great Hut eat merrily, albeit hastily, the uíwfala also consume the few bites that the sponsors hand them. Meanwhile, however, their faces remain covered. They are supposed to go on believing that Yetéjta is at least taking part in the meal, even though he does not devour it all alone. While they

/912 cont./

X881 • 264 869

eat, the adults try to make almost no sound. Meanwhile the candidates, well covered with pieces of leather, are sent to the area near the secondary entrance, for they are not supposed to realize that the other people are eating. Before the cover is removed from the faces of the uwéala, all the food remains which could arouse suspicion are removed. Meanwhile the uwéala are told: "Every glutton or lazy person falls as prey to Yetíjta and is devoured by him!" Thus we see that this opportunity, too, is used to increase the candidates' fear and terror of Yetíjta.

If, in the course of the day, the adults wish to take a few extra bites, they hang something over the faces of the uwéala or cover their faces entirely with a piece of leather. Some person while eating will throw a piece of meat into the fire and say in an audible voice: "This is for Yetíjta!" This, too, is supposed to encourage the candidates' false belief in this spirit.

X881 264

The actual meal is soon disposed of, for scarcely anyone has his fill. When a person eats he grasps the piece of meat with one hand, and with his other hand closed in a fist, he makes a rolling motion of the arm toward another person who is likewise eating or to whom he has given a piece. /913/ This gesture is supposed to indicate that one courteously extends an invitation to the other and is enjoying the food in his company.

Now and then, when the mood strikes the leader, a special delegation is sent from the ʏéʏaxs hut to the cookhut to fetch something to eat between meals. The leader and two or three men selected by him break into the customary general singing with a very loud, high-pitched nox three times. This is repeated at intervals and finally sounds like hŏ̄noŏ́. For the women in the cookhut it means nothing less than an urgent request to prepare something quickly which they can hand over to the delegation. Again, a few minutes pass and the hŏ̄noŏ́ is repeated. Finally the two men dash out of the secondary exit, hasten to the cookhut, and disappear inside.

[272 262]

One evening I saw them take along a painted pot. Amid continuous calls of "hŏ̄noŏ́" it was filled with coffee for them; at the same time other women impaled a large loaf of bread on a pointed stick and placed it in the hand of one of the two men. With this "booty" they hastened back to the ʏéʏaxs hut where they

/913 cont./

were received with a loud hóhohohohō. Immediately the coffee was poured into another vessel and the painted pot was promptly and noisily tossed out of the hut. Although it could not be seen from the camp, one could at least hear it come banging out. The other man danced through the hut several times with the stick bearing the large loaf of bread before it was cut into pieces. Such an extra meal refreshes the people and stimulates them to more lively singing.

Aside from these rare occasions, a delegation is appointed and sent out by the leader on some days at the time of the regular evening meal, while the inmates are dancing. As we know, they hold their dance staffs crosswise while they are dancing. Thus, when the two or three men leave the čiéxaus hut at the proper moment, they dance over to the cookhut maintaining the same tempo, one behind the other, and swinging their dance staffs with rolling movements of their hands and arms. They do not enter, but the women there hand the food out to them, hanging the little basket of mussels, a large piece of meat, or a filled leather pouch on their dance staffs. As they return to the čiéxaus hut, the dancing men constantly swing their dance staffs up and down, in spite of the burden. Whatever they bring is hastily received at the Great Hut, usually through the entrance before they step inside. The loud yelling and furious knocking on the ground are supposed to announce that Yetáita is taking all the food for himself and disappearing with it into the earth. Without delay the little basket or the small leather pouch is again shoved on the proffered dance staff of the men, but instead of food it now contains ashes or a glowing stick of wood which they bear to the cookhut in dance step. They may /914/ not appear there without a return gift; indeed, they come purposely to bring it in recompense for the food, as it were. They conspicuously pour out what they have brought at the entrance. This proves to the people in the camp that the food brought over from the cookhut was quickly removed from the container and pulled into the čiéxaus hut, but that the bearers themselves did not get any of it.

All the food remains to the last trace are destroyed in the fire immediately after the meal, partly out of cleanliness, partly in order to further the belief that Yetáita alone consumes all the food that reaches the Great Hut. Outside visitors are admitted

/914 cont./

X881 244 into the čiéxaus hut for a short time, because they must not have any occasion for suspicion.

An individual does not help himself; the distribution is made by the kitchen women who bring in the food already prepared. Usually an older woman appears, accompanied by a younger one. The latter carries the pieces of meat or the mussels. The former stands in front of each person squatting in his place, reaches into the basket of the woman accompanying her, grasps with both hands whatever is to be distributed, and first moves it up and down, meanwhile uttering a low hō̆ hō̆. Then the person takes the piece of meat or the mussel in his hands, moves it up and down in the same way, and repeats the soft hō̆ hō̆. The kitchen women move along both rows of participants, give something to each one, and return to their hut next door (336).

[415 177]

336. Recently the kitchen women have used European food and prepare the meal in large buckets or metal containers. They serve the food with ladles and give each person his portion on a plate or in a bowl. Nowadays everyone who enters the Great Hut is provided with these implements; he therefore makes use of them when the occasion arises.

They do not personally serve the uš̆wáala but give the sponsors somewhat more, and they, in turn, let their protégés have a little. Everyone immediately eats what he has received and forthwith cleans his plate of scraps. He is content with what was given him; to ask for a second helping would be a regrettable example of lack of self-control. Actually, the adults, too, must always forgo full satisfaction.

X881 356 4. Cleanliness. It is certainly noteworthy that our Yamana who, in general, show a limited sense of cleanliness are not guilty of offenses against it in the čiéxaus hut. Everyone is painfully exact about removing all the food remains after the meal. Immediately after he gets up in the morning, he straightens out his sleeping-place and folds the covers that he does not need during the day. At least once a day all the

X 881 533 /926 cont./

simultaneously. They enliven the already excited movement still more. The spirit and content of these utterances will be shown in a few sentences which I shall give here.

X 881 533 244 The people had already been loudly singing for about two hours. The kitchen women enter with the meal and are greeted with loud calls of hôhohohohô. Santiago, the leader, suddenly stops and simply calls out: "I am going to break off my song, for I am very tired and hungry!" Most of the people carry on the song; the rest eat hastily in order to take up the song soon after.

X 881 533 535 244 One evening coffee is brought in very late. Everyone is extremely happy about it. Every adult reaches for his cup, and with outstretched arms bent only slightly at the elbow, he holds it out. A few persons get up, skip back and forth, and lead the singing in a lively voice. Their gestures are lively because they are happy to be able to partake of something. They skip toward the kitchen woman with her large can, dance around her, and hold out their cups to her. As she fills each cup and also distributes bread, the others continue to hop all around her. Soon they draw away again, dancing with their filled cups, and sit down in their places. Their gay hopping is an expression of great satisfaction over the tasty drink. One of them says loudly: "How glad I am that I have been given something to eat and drink!" In a singing tone one woman cries: "Now there is something to eat and drink again; that is wonderful!" The kitchen woman who distributed food and drink brought joy and lively activity to the whole gathering.

X 881 537 152 609 On the first evening when a short pause occurred in the group singing, Santiago, the leader at that time, cried in a loud voice: "Once again we have gathered here to celebrate Kina. We want to do it well! This game came to us from the west; it came here from the Halakwulup. Today we have a Halakwulup (339)

339. He meant the youthful Julia who, several weeks before, had fled to the Yamana and who was invited to this initiation in Puerto Mejillones (p. 692).

among us. She will observe us carefully and afterwards tell her

/971 cont./
422 593 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing. Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

422 593 192 The little supplementary word "sē" clearly emphasizes the urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather simultaneously and without exception. BD:379 states: "sē [is] used by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. sē tāāli manāja ājan, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. sē kipajin kowē (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

422 593 264 576 Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

431 478 593 Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid, hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fuegians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /978/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family but from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

1: Gumilla--919 G-9 (1919-1950) 1937 Orin Tobias Gift

/5011 cont./

574 hold nothing back, for they aim to please and satisfy their guests, and they are not sorry if their entire supply is consumed. Even a person who has come for the express purpose of eating his fill for once -- perhaps he saw his host returning home with rich spoils -- is not turned away, but can freely indulge his appetite. It is not customary for the visitor to ask for anything. The owner of the hut already knows the other's intention and serves him everything he has on hand. He is glad to do this also because, at the next opportunity, he will visit the one who is now his guest. Thus a person may eat first in one hut and then in another, but eventually he also must show that he is a generous host. No one expresses thanks for what he has eaten, even if choice edibles have been offered him (430). Since everyone wishes to avoid being called

> 430. Bridges (k):340 was acquainted with this custom which is strange to Europeans. "The natives...never express thanks, but on every occasion are prompt to repay [the] services" /translated from Spanish/.

stingy or mean, he offers his guest everything he has with unmistakable generosity (431).

> 431. According to Dahlbeno (b):200 the Yamana are "hospitable, and however scanty the provisions may be, a new arrival will always find a place near the fire and some food. But they accept it coolly in silence, and if one has provisions, he must divide them with the rest" /translated from Spanish/.

574 In view of this, it might seem surprising that our Yamana also
● 264 regard moderation as one of their social virtues. Everyone must act as though he did not care anything at all about eating. Not even in front of his own family, let alone as a visitor in front of others, would a person say that he is hungry. Quite the contrary, if something is offered, he acts almost as though he were offended and waits quite some time before he actually helps himself. At the same time his stomach often grumbles so loudly from hunger

/1011 cont./

that everybody in the vicinity knows about it. A person who behaves too greedily and hastily at meals, who audibly drinks and smacks, is unquestionably regarded as a glutton and sacrifices a great deal of standing. When one is hungry, he cleverly feigns otherwise and fills his stomach without making his hosts consciously aware of it. Very early Despard (b):680 observed this attractive trait: "They hold gluttony in great abhorrence. In their language the word for gentleman is 'small-eater'" /cited in English/. In this respect they are exactly like the Seik'nam (Vol. I, 474).

When the Fuegians are by themselves, however, or in the small circle of most intimate friends, their great voracity occasionally breaks all bounds, and the sight is sometimes repulsive even to their own countrymen (p. 231). As is well known, they grasp the usually very hot piece of meat /1012/ with their hands, put it to their mouths, and tugging hard, they tear off thick pieces with their teeth. The abundant blubber and meat juice ooze out of both corners of their mouths, and thick drops of it fall on their knees and thighs. They rub it on their faces and bodies and lick their sticky fingers with their tongues. The scene around a stranded whale is almost disgusting, for everyone discards the customary cautious self-control and stuffs himself with such large amounts that his taut belly stands out prominently. In drinking, which was formerly limited to water, no one need restrain himself. The Yamana drink large quantities daily.

Ordinary visits are quiet and without ceremony. The visitor enters the hut, looks around, and sits down near the fire. Considerable time goes by before the owner of the hut addresses him, and then there is another interval before the visitor consents to converse or to make known his reason for coming. He leaves again just as wordlessly. Certain forms of greeting, however, are customary among them (432): when they are separating to go long

432. Therefore I reject what Spegazzini (a):166 says, for example, and what Despard (b):696 maintained in the following words: "There are no gestures of affection amongst them: they neither kiss, rub noses, nor shake hands. Nevertheless, the affection exists, and is strong" /cited in English/. The former,

/1308 cont./

262 and let the others share them, instead of selfishly enjoying them
924 alone. People from another region who land on strange territory
[821] and find large quantities of amájm may neither pick them nor eat them. If they do, they must be prepared for threatening weather when they continue their journey. Their taking the berries would portend ináčiwa, ruin and destruction for them.

262 The "rain berry," palaxáčix, Rubus gunckeli (p.279), may
924 be eaten only in fair weather. If someone has discovered a spot
821 where there are great numbers of these berries and he wants to gather them, he must first obtain permission from the áyins who has the right to distribute them to adults and children. A person who picks the palaxáčix without such permission or in /1309/ rainy weather must be prepared for a sudden heavy storm with rain on the open sea, which will endanger his life, as atonement, hínečí, for his disobedience. On March 16, 1923, there was an unusually heavy cloudburst with floods. Two days earlier a few girls had stolen off to a place that was well known for its many palaxáčix -- it is about an hour's distance from Punta Remolino -- and picked these berries. In all seriousness Nelly told me on the evening of March 16th that the young Halakwulup, Julia, had gone to this place with a few other girls. Julia was unfamiliar with the taboo, and she had picked and eaten many of the berries. The other girls followed her example. The heavy rain was a punishment for this.

262 It is not at all seldom that sudden bad weather breaks out over the wide inlets open to the south. In this region it is customary not to eat certain game animals that have been caught on the same day, but to keep them until the following day. A person who does not conform to this must be prepared for a heavy loss in the immediate future. This custom is probably meant to teach people to provide for the next day, for all too often a family is unable to travel because of unfavorable natural forces, and they could suffer great hardship if they had not learned and were not compelled to economize with their already meager supply.

264 The Yamana very seldom eat during a canoe trip and, if
821 they do, always very little. Anyone who eats may not throw food
484 remains and refuse overboard, but should destroy them in the fire which is always kept burning. It is said that Yoxlox decreed this.

/1309 cont./

When one fails to observe this rule, his child will scream just as incessantly as did the child of Yaḷḷin (p. 1148). Moreover, other people say that his canoe will run into bad weather. Spencer:87 writes: "When crossing one of the Sounds, a man will paint broad transverse bands of black across the woman's face. This is supposed to ensure a fairweather crossing" /cited in English/. I did not learn anything about this from my informants, but I did hear that bad weather will set in immediately if someone pulls out tall reeds in a lagoon.

Moreover, the Tamana are still imprisoned in a realm of superstitious notions about so-called baleful places. These are first of all the places that the Laḷḷma like to inhabit. No one should venture there in his canoe or gather mussels there. Besides the Laḷḷma and the malevolent Hagᵘḷḷa, certain animals who are in contact with the yēkamuḷ make a place dangerous for human beings. Friendly, well-meaning yēkamuḷ warn people about these places, for they know from their dreams what the situation is and the danger a person can get into on that account. A person who unwittingly enters such a zone suddenly feels unwell, he becomes utterly weak and immediately falls asleep. /1310/ He is lost if a yēkamuḷ is not called in time to free him from the pernicious influence of this baleful place. On March 21, 1923, Whaits told the following story. "In Lopaᵘḷja there is a fatal spot where even the fish are not spared. Once several men had set a net there. It was quickly filled with fish and the men began hauling it in. When they were near the shore with the heavy net, a strong force pulled out all the fish and the men stared astonished at the empty net." Earlier Bridges reported: "A certain Sisaniaŋjiz had made up his mind to settle out at a beautiful place some three miles from Ushuaia. Accordingly he went there with his wife and family, and one or two friends. These built a wigwam and had plenty of wood and water close at hand. But late in the afternoon they heard a strange voice or cry, whether from owl, hawk, bird, beast, or evil spirit they knew not and were too much frightened to go and ascertain, saying sapiccoosh, sapiccoosh, which means bloody arrow head. They forthwith packed up and hastened back to Ushuaia from the fatal spot" /cited in English/ (MM:XIII, 80; 1879).

L. Gamble--1958 6-6 (1910-1964) 1937 1941 Yahgan 1958

/1404 cont./

X757 • 264 785 Our Yamana, as a matter of principle, forgo eating their fill on some occasions, which are well known. They consume themselves with as little nourishment as possible in the ḫima house. On this occasion the mussel is regarded as the most suitable food for insuring that the old people and the apprentices will reach their goal. They all eat but once a day, soon after getting up. The uw̆ʃaléxamuĭ are given three mussels at the most, all the other participants impose the same restriction upon themselves, and sometimes a person takes nothing all day. In individual cases the pupil is permitted to eat a fish instead of a mussel, but he may eat only the tail end, he destroys the front end, along with the head, in the fire. A little tumbago powder (228) is sprinkled on each bite that the apprentice eats.

228. No one could tell me the reason for these strange rules.

All the food is cooked in the Great Hut itself, and the remnants are immediately destroyed in the fire. If the pupil is making obvious progress, the three mussels a day are cut down first to two, later even to one for the duration of the affair. This is done so that he will steadily and quickly perfect himself. He is given water which he sucks in limited quantities through the well-known ʃmbalim, a thin hollow bone (p. 309) made out of a large Mytilus shell, which is handed to him by a yẽkamuĭ. Every participant knows, and the apprentices are repeatedly told by the leader, that the less food and drink a person has, the more promptly his dreams will come to him, the more vivid his intercourse will be with the spirits, and the more capable the older yẽkamuĭ will be for his accomplishments. If a uw̆ʃaléxamuĭ should give in to the pangs of hunger and secretly eat something, for instance, when he is gathering wood in the forest, then it is said that the yeʃčel tell the yẽkamuĭ of this infraction. Thereupon one of them will call the chap to account: "We know that you have secretly eaten outside this ḫima hut!" /1406/ Punishment does not follow, however, for the boy is sufficiently intimidated and accepts the rebuke without contradiction. He has learned his lesson forever.

X756 302 Body painting is prescribed for the actual participants, the yẽkamuĭ and the uw̆ʃaléxamuĭ. All of them are completely naked

[illegible] Nearly all work was done for hand to mouth existence. There was little concern for the future, and practically none for amassing wealth.

HOSPITALITY

[illegible] Intimate friends, men or women, on meeting greeted each other with vigorous hugs and with wordless vocalizations of joy. When a guest entered a hut, he consulted by the fire without manifesting curiosity; only after a while did he begin to talk and give the news, during which time he was not interrupted. Hospitality was generously given, especially to kin and friends. The guest did not verbally express his thanks for the food received. If he were from a distant place, his host presented him with some gifts on his departure. A person hearing the last of a friend used the expression: "I will go."

[illegible] On paying a visit it was proper, especially for women and children, to paint the face with a red or white streak or paint up otherwise. A graduate from the *Sidawa* initiation rite on approaching his spouse was expected to paint himself or herself, to go without such painting was disrespectful. It was bad form to show too much eagerness in eating; a gluttonous eater was looked down upon. Belching and expectorating in the presence of others was not disapproved. Natural needs were attended to at a good distance from the hut.

[illegible] When several families came together to camp, the respective sexes kept more or less to themselves. A man would not enter a hut where a woman was inside alone, and vice versa.

[illegible] It was very bad form to summon or address a person, even a child, by his or her own name. In conversation the names of others were not mentioned, roundabout descriptive phrases being used instead.

[illegible] The *Talyan* had no expressions corresponding to our cursing or profanity.

The foregoing were some of the more significant rules of *Talyan* etiquette, details of which are given at length by Guiindo (1887, pp. 1006-1018).

WARFARE AND CONTROL OF [illegible]

[illegible] These have been dealt with supra under Social and Political Life.

LIFE CYCLE

[illegible] **Childbirth and infancy.**—There was clear awareness of the dependence of conception on coitus. Desire for children was marked. [illegible] In some cases abortion—by mechanical, not medicinal, means—was resorted to by unmarried mothers. A badly deformed or defective newborn infant was allowed to die through neglect. [illegible] Delivery took place inside the hut, the father going outside and leaving the mother with women assistants. Very shortly after birth, the mother bathed